

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 2205

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE: EC-NINE POSITION PAPER

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

1. TRANSMITTED BELOW, PER USNATO 2153, IS AN INFORMAL MISSION TRANSLATION OF TNCH ORIGINAL OF A PAPER COVERING CSCE POSITIONS WHICH THE EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE APPROVED IN BONN ON APRIL 18. THE PAPER WAS PRESENTED BY THE FRG DELEGATION, ACTING FOR THE NINE, IN CSCE CONSULTATIONS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL ON APRIL 22.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

1. AT IOBETING IN BONN ON 18 APRIL 1974, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE

NINE APPROVED A REPORT BY THE CSCE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE "PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED" AND NOTED A VERBAL REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE ADHOC GROUP  
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TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE WORK DONE IN COMMITTEE II.

2. GENERALLY SPEAKING, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE DOES NOT FEEL SATISFIED

WITH THE STATUS OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE GOALS THE NINE HAD SET THEMSELVES. IN PARTICULAR, ITS DELIBERATIONS BORE ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

I. CHARACTER OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT

II. ITEM I OF THE AGENDA

(A) DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

A) INVIOABILITY AND PEACEFUL CHANGE

B) SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND NON-INTERVENTION

C) OTHER PRINCIPLES

D) PREAMBLE AND GENERAL REMARKS

(B) PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES AND PROPOSALS AIMED AT MAKING EFFECTIVE NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE

(C) CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AND MILITARY ASPECTS

III. ITEM II OF THE AGENDA

(A) GENERAL COMMENTS

(B) THE PREAMBLE - MENTION OF THE LDOS

(C) COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES

IV. ITEM III OF THE AGENDA

(A) GENERAL COMMENTS

(B) THE PREAMBLE

(C) THE TEXTS

A) SUBCOMMITTEE ON "CONTACTS"

B) SUBCOMMITTEE ON "INFORMATION"

C) SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE"

D) SUBCOMMITTEE ON "EDUCATION"

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V. FOLLOW-UP TO THE CONFERENCE

VI. LEVEL OF STAGE III

II. CHARACTER OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT

3. THE EASTERN COUNTRIES HAVE UNTIL NOW AVOIDED DISCUSSING THE CHARACTER OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT. NEVERTHELESS, THE USSR HAS GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND THAT IT HAS TWO MAIN OBJECTIONS TO THE NETHERLANDS DRAFT:

- IN ITS OPINION, THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ALONE SHOULD BE SIGNED

(BY THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS);

- THE PREAMBLE TO THE TEXTS OF COMMISSION III SHOULD NOT APPEAR SEPARATED FROM THE TEXTS..

4. IN THE OPINION OF THE NINE, THE FOLLOWING POSITIONS SHOULD BE CONFIRMED:

- TO ADOPT, FOR THE FINAL DOCUMENT, A PRESENTATION DEMONSTRATING CLEAR-

LY THE POSITIVE AND NON-JURIDICAL CHARACTER OF THE SIGNATURE WHICH WILL BE GIVEN;

- STRESS THE MULTIPLICITY OF THE RESOLUTIONS OR OTHER TEXTS FOR EACH ITEM ON THE AGENDA;

- NOT TO GIVE PRE-EMINENCE TO THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES;

- NOT TO ACCEPT THE SIGNATURE OF ALL THE DECLARATIONS, RESOLUTIONS, ETC.;

5. AS REGARDS THE CONTENT OF THE DOCUMENT TO BE SIGNED, THE FOLLOWING POSSIBILITIES WERE EVOKED:

A) A FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING PARTS:

- A TITLE (FINAL DOCUMENT OR FINAL RECORD) WHICH STRESSES THE NON-CONFIDENTIAL

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JURIDICAL CHARACTER OF THE COCUMENT

- A LIST OF THE NATIONS PARTICIPATING;

- A PREAMBLE FOR EACH OF THE FOUR ITEMS ON THE AGENDA FOLLOWWED BY A LIST OF THE STATEMENTS (DECLARATIONS), RESOLUTIONS, ETC., THE TEXTS OF THESE BEING ANNEXED;

B) INCORPORATE ALL THE TEXTS OF STATEMENTS, RESOLUTIONS, ETC. IN THE FINAL RECORD; IN THIS CASE, THE SIGNATURE WOULD APPEAR AFTER THE TEXTS;

(OPTIONS A) AND B) ARE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE NETHERLANDS DRAFT)

C) TO SIGN ONLY A FINAL RECORD OR COMMUNIQUE; THE STRUCTURE OF THE NETHERLANDS DRAFT WOULD BE RETAINED, THE TEXTS OF THE PREAMBLES INTRODUCING THE FOUR CHAPTERS WOULD APPEAR HOWEVER IN A SEPARATE VOLUME WITH THE TEXTS OF THE STATEMENTS, RESOLUTIONS, ETC., TO WHICH THEY REFER.

6. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE INDICATED ITS PREFERENCE FOR OPTION A) MENTIONED ABOVE; IF OPTION B) WAS PROPOSED AT THE CONFERENCE, IT COULD

ONLY  
BE ADOPTED FOLLOWING A DECISION ON THE PART OF THE CAPITALS; OPTION C)

COULD BE USED, IN CASE OF NEED, FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES.

II. ITEM I ON THE AGENDA

(A) THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

A) INVIOABILITY AND PEACEFUL CHANGE

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7. THE NINE ARE OF THE OPINION THAT A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF THIS  
PROBLEM HAS ABSOLUTE PRIORITY. UNDER RESERVE OF CERTAIN AMENDMENTS OF  
STYLE TO THE FORMULA RECORDED ON THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND  
TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE FORMAL RESERVATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC  
OF GERMANY, THE COMPROMISE REACHED ON 5 APRIL ON THE RECORDING OF  
THE TEXTS APPEARS TO BE SATISFACTORY.

THROUGHOUT THE FUTURE WORK ON EDITING, CARE MUST BE TAKEN, HOWEVER,  
THAT:

- NO FORMULA STIPULATES THE IMMUTABILITY OF FRONTIERS OR ALLOWS THIS  
TO BE UNDERSTOOD;
- THE TEXT ABOUT PEACEFUL CHANGE BE ADAPTED TO THE PRINCIPLE TO WHICH  
IT IS ATTACHED;
- THE PARAGRAPH ON THE COMMITMENT NOT TO PRESENT TERRITORIAL CLAIMS  
MUST BE LABELLED IN A WAY SUCH THAT, AS A RESULT, IT IS FAIRLY CLEAR

THAT IT IS A MATTER OF CLAIMS SUPPORTED BY FORCE;

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- IN THE FINAL PROVISIONS OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, A CLAUSE ON THE UNITY OF THE PRINCIPLES AND THE TIES BETWEEN THEM (SEE PARAGRAPH 11 OF THE FRENCH DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES) MUST APPEAR VERY CLEARLY.

8. ALTHOUGH THE NINE HAD ACCEPTED TO PHRASE THE SENTENCE CONCERNING THE LEGITIMACY OF THE PEACEFUL CHANGE INDEPENDENTLY FROM ITS CONTEXT, IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO UPHOLD, AS LONG AS POSSIBLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS,

THEIR THESIS ACCORDING TO WHICH THE CONTEXT OF INVIOABILITY IS THE MOST APPROPRIATE FOR INCLUSION OF THIS SENTENCE.

9. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD AN INITIAL EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON THE QUESTION OF KNOWING TO WHICH PRINCIPLE THE FORMULA FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE COULD BE TIED IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD OUR INTERESTS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE;

THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES WERE MENTIONED:

-TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY;

- NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE;

- SOVEREIGN EQUALITY.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING THIS FORMULA INTO AN AUTONOMOUS PRINCIPLE WAS MENTIONED.

WE ARE READY TO NEGOTIATE ON THE SWISS DRAFT AS WELL AS ON THE REVISED

ROMANIAN DRAFT FOR A RESOLUTION ON THE NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE. IN BOTH OF THESE CASES, IT MUST BE EXPECTED THAT THE DISCUSSION IN GENEVA WILL END IN SOME SORT OF RESOLUTION, WHOSE PLACE IN THE FINAL DOCUMENTS REMAINS TO BE DEFINED.

15. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET TEXT, THE SOVIET TEXT SUBMITTED FOR DEBATE IN THE SPECIAL WORKING GROUP AGENCY, IS ALWAYS UPHELD AND MAINTAINED BY THE EASTERN COUNTRIES AS CONSTITUTING (IN THE HYPOTHESIS

OF A SOLE FINAL DOCUMENT) A GOOD LINK BETWEEN THE PART CONCERNING  
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THE PRINCIPLES AND THAT INCLUDING THE RESOLUTIONS ON THE SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES AND THE NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE.

(C) CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AND MILITARY ASPECTS

16. AT ITS MEETING ON 10-11 JANUARY 1974, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE "AGREED THAT THE NINE WILL EXPRESS THEIR INCREASED INTEREST IN THE ELABORATION, BY THE CSCE, OF A DOCUMENT ON CONCRETE MEASURES OF CONFIDENCE".

17. WE HOPE TO OBTAIN A SEPARATE RESOLUTION/STATEMENT ON THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY, STRESSING THE IDEA THAT THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY ARE COMPLEMENTARY. SUCH AN ASCERTAINMENT IS IMPORTANT, ESPECIALLY FOR OUR PUBLIC OPINION WHICH MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND THE ATTEMPTS AT EFFORTS TENDING TO SOLVE POLITICAL AND COOPERATION PROBLEMS IN THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FIELDS CANNOT, BY THEMSELVES ALONE, ENSURE TRUE DETENTE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.

18. WE BELIEVE THAT THE MEASURES OF CONFIDENCE MAKE CONCRETE THIS FUNDAMENTAL IDEA. WE HOLD ESSENTIALLY TO THE CRITERIA WE HAVE ESTABLISHED FOR THESE MEASURES. BY THE DEFINITION OF THESE CRITERIA, IT WILL BE A MATTER OF ENSURING AS BROAD AS POSSIBLE A FOUNDATION FOR THE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES. AS REGARDS THE QUESTION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE CONSIDERED THAT, IN THE PRESENT STATE OF THINGS, IT WOULD BE WELL TO MAINTAIN OUR POSITION.

10. THE SUB-COMMITTEE ENVISAGES A SPECIAL MEETING AT GENEVA, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF LEGAL ADVISERS WHOSE TASK IT WILL BE TO REPORT IN DETAIL ON THIS QUESTION FOR THE DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENTS.

B) SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND NON-INTERVENTION

11. THE FORMULATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND NON-INTERVENTION MUST NOT CONTAIN CONCEPTS WHICH COULD SERVE TO SUGGEST THESE PRINCIPLES AS A GENERAL LIMIT TO COOPERATION AND TO THE RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS; THEY MUST BE FORMULATED TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPORTANCE FOR THE RESULTS OF THE WORK OF COMMITTEE II. THE FORMULATIONS RECORDED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY SEEM TO CORRESPOND TO THIS REQUIREMENT.

C) OTHER PRINCIPLES

12. THE RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS CONSTITUTE ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL FOUNDATIONS OF COOPERATION. FOR THE WESTERN NATIONS, THIS RESPECT MEANS EVEN MORE: IT IS THE RECOGNITION OF THE MARGIN OF PERSONAL FREEDOM WHICH AN INDIVIDUAL NEEDS TO DEVELOP HIS PERSONALITY. AS REGARDS THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES, THE SUBSTANCE OF THE TEXT IN THE FRENCH DRAFT MUST BE MAINTAINED.

D) PREAMBLE AND GENERAL PROVISIONS

13. THE NINE SHOULD  
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15. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET TEXT SUBMITTED FOR DEBATE IN THE  
SPECIAL WORKING GROUP, IS ALWAYS UPHELD AND MAINTAINED BY THE EASTERN  
COUNTRIES AS CONSTITUTING (IN THE HYPOTHESIS OF A SOLE FINAL DOCUMENT)

A GOOD LINK BETWEEN THE PART CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLES AND THAT  
INCLUDING THE RESOLUTIONS ON THE SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES AND THE  
NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE.

(C) CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AND MILITARY ASPECTS

16. AT ITS MEETING ON 10-11 JANUARY 1974, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE  
"AGREED THAT THE NINE WILL EXPRESS THEIR INCREASED INTEREST IN THE  
ELABORATION, BY THE CSCE, OF A DOCUMENT ON CONCRETE MEASURES OF  
CONFIDENCE".

17. WE HOPE TO OBTAIN A SEPARATE RESOLUTION/STATEMENT ON THE MILITARY  
ASPECTS OF SECURITY, STRESSING THE IDEA THAT THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY

ASPECTS OF SECURITY ARE COMPLEMENTARY. SUCH AN ASCERTAINMENT IS IMPORT-

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ANT, ESPECIALLY FOR OUR PUBLIC OPINION WHICH MUST BE MADE TO UNDER-  
STAND THAT EFFORTS TENDING TO SOLVE POLITICAL AND COOPERATION  
PROBLEMS IN THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FIELDS CANNOT, BY THEMSELVES,

ALONE, ENSURE TRUE DETENTE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.

18. WE BELIEVE THAT CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES MAKE CONCRETE THIS  
FUNDAMENTAL IDEA. WE HOLD ESSENTIALLY TO THE CRITERIA WE HAVE ESTABLISHED

FOR THESE MEASURES. BY THE DEFINITION OF THESE CRITERIA, IT WILL BE  
A MATTER OF ENSURING AS BROAD AS POSSIBLE A FOUNDATION FOR THE MEASURES

OF CONFIDENCE. AS REGARDS THE QUESTION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS, THE  
POLITICAL COMMITTEE CONSIDERED THAT, IN THE PRESENT STATE OF THINGS,  
IT WOULD BE WELL TO MAINTAIN OUR POSITION.

### III. ITEM II ON THE AGENDA

#### (A) GENERAL REMARKS

19. UP UNTIL NOW, PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN REGARD TO THE TEXTS OF THE

PREAMBLES AS WELL AS ON OPERATIONAL PARTS WHICH DO NOT CONFLICT WITH  
THE STATE CONTROLLED CONCEPTS OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES (ENVIRONMENT,  
TECHNOLOGY). MOREOVER, PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN NOTABLY ON THE MORE  
SENSITIVE QUESTIONS FOR THE SYSTEMS IN THE EASTERN COUNTRIES  
(INFORMATION, BUSINESS CONTACTS, INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION).

20. FINALLY, THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS APPROACHED IN THE RESOLUTION

ON COMMERCE (TREATMENT OF THE MOST FAVORED NATION, RECIPROCITY IN  
RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS, FOR THE TOTALITY ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND IN  
VIEW OF POSSIBLE FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS), CONTINUES TO BE A KEY ELEMENT

WHICH IS LIKELY TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON ALL THE WORK DONE UNDER  
BASKET II.

#### (B) THE PREAMBLE - MENTION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (LDCS)

21. THE COMMITTEE HAS RETAINED THE FOLLOWING TEXT RELATING TO DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES, INTENDED FOR PROPOSAL BY THE NINE AS AN AMENDMENT TO  
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THE DRAFT PREAMBLE NOW BEING EXAMINED BY PANEL II OF THE CSCE:

"CONSCIOUS OF THE DIFFERENT LEVELS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AMONG  
COUNTRIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD INCLUDING THOSE IN EUROPE, BEARING IN  
MIND THE INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND REGIONS AND REAFFIRMING

THEIR INTENTION TO WORK FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF GOALS AND OBJECTIVES AS  
ACCEPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY  
OF THE UN SECOND DEVELOPMENT DECADE, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES."

#### (C) COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES



22. THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE AD HOC GROUP IN REGARD TO THE WORK BEING CARRIED OUT BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE FOR "COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES" ARE THE FOLLOWING:

- ALL THE DELEGATIONS HAVE CONFIRMED THEIR AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT FOR "AN OFFER OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS", THE TWO PARAGRAPHS OF WHICH WOULD BE PRESENTED SUCCESSIVELY IN RELATION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORK;

- ALL THE DELEGATIONS HAVE CONFIRMED THEIR POSITION ACCORDING TO WHICH

THERE IS NO REASON FOR GRANTING THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONFERENCE, THE BENEFIT OF THE MOST FAVORED NATION CLAUSE

#### IV. ITEM III OF THE AGENDA

##### (A) GENERAL REMARKS

23. THE NINE CONTINUE TO GIVE THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO ITEM III OF THE AGENDA. IT IS HERE THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN THE SLOWEST UP UNTIL NOW, THE

EASTERN COUNTRIES NOT HAVING, ON THE OTHER HAND, CONCEALED THAT THEY WERE DELIBERATELY HOLDING IT UP WHILE AWAITING THE SETTLEMENT OF OTHER PROB-

LEMS. AS SOON AS RESUMED, THE MAIN EFFORT WILL HAVE TO BE MADE IN THE SUB-COMMITTEES OF PANEL III.

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##### (B) THE PREAMBLE

24. AS REGARDS THE WORDING OF THE PREAMBLE, WE CANNOT ACCEPT EITHER REFERENCES WHICH DIFFER FROM PARTICULAR PRINCIPLES NOR, A FORTIORI, "RESPECT FOR LAWS AND CUSTOMS". ON THE OTHER HAND, WE MUST SEE TO IT THAT THE DEFINITION AND DETAILED STATEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES SHOULD NOT SERVE AS A PRETEXT FOR LIMITING EXPLOITATION OF THEM. THESE PRECAUTIONS ARE OF CAPITAL IMPORTANCE FOR US, SINCE A PREAMBLE WHICH DOES NOT RESPECT THEM WOULD NOT ONLY DEPRIVE THE OPERATIONAL TEXTS OF THEIR EFFECT BUT WOULD OBSTRUCT ALL FUTURE IMPROVEMENTS.

##### (C) THE TEXTS

25. GIVEN THE INTEREST, FROM NOW ON URGENT, IN DISTINGUISHING THE ESSENTIAL FROM THE ACCESSORY ELEMENTS AMONG THE MASS OF OF THE OFTEN COMPLEX WESTERN PROPOSALS, AND OF DEFINING CONSEQUENTLY OUR STRATEGY AND OUR TACTICS, THE BEST METHOD APPEARS TO BE TO DEFINE, IN EACH SUB-COMMITTEE, THE ESSENTIAL ASPECT, IN OUR EYES, OF THE PROPOSALS WE SUBMIT TO IT AND CONCENTRATE OUR EFFORTS ON THIS ASPECT. ACCORDING TO THE SUB-COMMITTEES, THESE PRIORITIES WOULD BE DEFINED AS FOLLOWS:

A) SUB-COMMITTEE FOR CONTACTS

26. A SATISFACTORY WORDING SHOULD BE OBTAINED FOR THE INTRODUCTORY PROVISIONS BY WHICH THE PARTICIPATING NATIONS WOULD ASSIGN TO THEMSELVES, AS A LONG TERM OBJECTIVE, THAT OF ENSURING TO INDIVIDUALS GREATER FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND OF CONTACTS ACROSS THEIR FRONTIERS. THESE GENERAL PROVISIONS SHOULD BEGIN DIRECTLY WITH THE PRACTICAL MEASURES CONCERNING "TRAVEL FOR PERSONAL OR PROFESSIONAL REASONS", PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE, JUSTIFYING GREATER PRECISION, WOULD BE GRANTED FOR HUMANITARIAN REASNS TO FAMILY MEETINGS AND REUNIONS AS WELL AS TO WEDDINGS.

B) SUB-COMMITTEE FOR INFORMATION

27. THE MAXIMUM OF PRACTICAL ASSURANCES SHOULD BE OBTAINED CONCERNING A MORE LIBERAL DIFFUSION OF WRITTEN AND AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION, THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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LIBERTY ALSO BEING GUARANTEED BY FACILITIES FOR ACCESS BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC TO THE ABOVE MENTIONED INFORMATION. AND COMPLETED BY BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS FOR THE JOURNALISTS HAVING TO COLLECT IT IN THE OTHER PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES.

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C) SUB-COMMITTEE FOR CULTURE

28. A FREER AND BROADER ACCESS FOR THE NATIONAL PUBLIC TO THE WORKS OF

OTHER PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES SHOULD BE REALLY ASSURED. THIS OBJECT-  
IVE IMPLIES AT THE SAME TIME BETTER MUTUAL INFORMATION ON THESE WORKS  
AND ESPECIALLY BETTER MATERIAL CONDITIONS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL  
CIRCULATION OF THE WORKS (NOTABLY WRITTEN AND AUDIO-VISUAL WORKS).  
THIS SHOULD BE THE OBJECT BOTH OF STIPULATIONS OF PRINCIPLE AS EXPLICIT

AS POSSIBLE IN THE PRELIMINARY DECLARATION  
(FRENCH DRAFT) AND OF CONCRETE MEASURES IN THE OPERATIONAL APPARATUS.  
D) SUB-COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATION

29. EMPHASIS SHOULD BE GIVEN TO GREATER FREEDOM FOR TRAVEL, CONTACTS  
AND EXCHANGES FOR INDIVIDUAL AGENTS OF THE RESPECTIVE EDUCATION SYSTEM:

TEACHERS, RESEARCH WORKERS, STUDENTS. CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES BETWEEN  
EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS COULD CONSTITUTE A SECONDARY  
PRIORITY, BUT IS ACTUALLY IMPLICITLY CONTAINED IN THE PRECEDING OBJ-  
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ECTIVE (GREATER FREEDOM FOR TRAVEL).

V. FOLLOW-UP OF THE CONFERENCE

30. THE PROPOSAL OF THE NINE WAS PRESENTED BY THE HEAD OF THE DANISH  
DELEGATION IN THE WORKING GROUP ON 28 FEBRUARY 1974, AND WAS GENERALLY  
WELCOMED. HOWEVER, THE DEBATE DEMONSTRATED THAT THE EASTERN COUNTRIES  
HAD NOT GIVEN UP THE IDEA OF A PERMANENT ORGANIZATION AND THAT A  
CERTAIN NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD LIKE TO GO FURTHER IN THE  
FOLLOW-UP FIELD (BRIEF INTERIM PERIOD, PERIODICITY OF FUTURE MEETINGS).

IN THIS SITUATION, IT IS TO OUR INTEREST TO MAKE OUR POSITION  
MORE EXPLICIT BY LAYING ON THE TABLE THE TEXT OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION  
IN THIS FIELD, TO BE SUBMITTED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE CONFERENCE  
BY THE DANISH DELEGATION. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS REACHED AGREEMENT

AD REFERENDUM ON THE TEXT OF SUCH A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT CP(74)22P, TO  
BE DISTRIBUTED.)

31. AS REGARDS THE "TECHNICAL FOLLOW-UP", THE STUDIES OF THE SUB-  
COMMITTEE AND OF THE AD HOC GROUP ARE NOT YET COMPLETED. FOR BASKET II,

THE AD HOC GROUP CONSIDERS THAT THE SUBJECTS TREATED DO NOT, IN  
THEMSELVES, REQUIRE THE CREATION OF NEW AGENCIES: EITHER THE DECISIONS

OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BEGIN WITH AUTONOMOUS MEASURES TO BE TAKEN BY  
THE GOVERNMENTS OR BY THE COMMUNITY, OR WITH BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.  
IF NEED BE, THEY CAN BE WORKED OUT IN OTHER  
EXISTING FORUMS WHERE THE GOVERNMENTS COULD WORK IN THE SENSE OF THE  
CONFERENCE DECISIONS, NOTABLY THOSE OF THE EEC. FOR BASKET III,  
THE OBJECTIVE SHOULD CONSIST IN AGREEING ON A LIMITED NUMBER  
OF PROJECTS (CONFERENCES OF EXPERTS, NON-INSTITUTIONALIZED PROJECTS,

INSTITUTIONS) AND IN TAKING DECISIONS ON THE FOLLOW-UP TO BE GIVEN TO THESE PROJECTS. OUR POSITION IN THIS MATTER HOLD BE ESTABLISHED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

VI. THE IIIRD PHASE LEVEL

32. IN THE NINES DOCUMENT RM(73)20, APPROVED BY THE MINISTERS, IT IS SAID THAT THE FINAL RECORD OF THE CSCE "WOULD BE SUBMITTED ALL TOGETHER  
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TO THE MINISTERS IN THE THIRD PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE". WHILE SAFE-GUARDING THIS POSITION, THE SUB-COMMITTEE RECALLED THAT SEVERAL HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS AND MINISTERS AMONG THE NINE HAD RECENTLY INDICATED THAT THE LEVEL OF THE THIRD PHASE SHOULD CORRESPOND TO THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE.

33. THE SUB-COMMITTEE HAS PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING THREE SAMPLES FOR DISCUSSION BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE:

A) HYPOTHESIS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL

THIS SOLUTION WOULD HAVE THE FOLLOWING ADVANTAGES:

- IT WOULD AVOID DEVOTING TO THE HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVEL PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION WHICH WILL PROBABLY BE WELL BELOW THE STANDARDS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY IN THE HUMANITARIAN FIELD;

- THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL WOULD BE IN PERFECT HARMONY WITH THE CSCE'S CONCEPTION IN AS FAR AS IT WOULD BE A STAGE IN A GRADUAL AND PROGRESSIVE MULTILATERAL PROCESS UPON WHICH THE STRATEGY AND POSITION OF THE NINE IS BASED;

- REGARDING THE LAST POINT ABOVE, A MINISTERIAL LEVEL ALONE WOULD PERMIT NOT ADMITTING THAT THE CONCLUDION HAD BEEN ATTAINED--AND EVEN THE FINAL CONSECRATION--FOR THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AND THE STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY IN EUROPE, WITHOUT IT BEING POSSIBLE TO KNOW WHAT DEVELOPMENTS MIGHT BE BEGINNING IN OTHER SECTORS WHICH MAY INFLUENCE THIS PROCESS (VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, SITUATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, ETC.).

B) HYPOTHESIS OF THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE

THE CONFERENCE WOULD LEAVE TO THE PARTICIPATING NATIONS THE CHOICE OF THE POLITICAL LEVEL AT WHICH THEY DESIRE TO BE REPRESENTED IN THE FINAL PHASE OF THE CSCE. SUCH A DECISION, NOTWITHSTANDING ITS APPEARANCE, WOULD NOT BE A "NEUTRAL"ONE. THE PROBLEM OF THE LEVEL FOR THE THIRD PHASE IS NOT, IN FACT, A QUESTION OF FORM BUT OF SUBSTANCE, FOR IT ENTAILS CONSEQUENCES OF IMPORT TO THE FINAL DECISIONS, TO THE  
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CON-

CEPTION OF THE CSCE FOLLOW-UP, ETC. CONSIDERED FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW, THE DECISION OF SOME GOVERNMENTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE AT THE TOP LEVEL WOULD STRONGLY PREJUDICE DECISIONS ON THESE QUESTIONS OF SUBSTANCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THIS DECISION WOULD BE CONTRARARY TO THE EGALITARIAN NATURE OF THE CSCE WHICH IS ONE OF THE MOST POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE CONFERENCE'S PROCEDURES. THE HYPOTHESIS OF FREEDOM OF CHOICE SHOULD THEREFORE NOT BE ENCOURAGED NOR ADOPTED AS FAR AS THE NINE ARE CONCERNED.

C) HYPOTHESIS OF THE HEADS OF STATES OR GOVERNMENTS LEVEL

THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS ATTACH PRIMARY IMPORTANCE TO THIS OUTCOME REVEALS A CONCEPTION OF THE CSCE AS A FINAL CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, WHICH WOULD CONSECRATE, THROUGH THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE, THE STATUS QUO

OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING NATIONS. CONSIDERING THAT THE HOPE OF ATTAINING THE HIGHEST LEVEL COULD INCITE THE EASTERN COUNTRIES TO MAKE CERTAIN CONCESSIONS, THIS OPTION SHOULD BE KEPT OPEN FOR THE TIME BEING.

34. A FINAL DECISION ON THE LEVEL OF THE THIRD PHASE OF THE CSCE SHOULD

THEREFORE NOT BE TAKEN EXCEPT AT A MOMENT WHEN THE RESULTS OF THE CON-

FERENCE CAN BE EVALUATED. HOWEVER, IT APPEARS NOT TO BE VERY LIKELY THAT THE CSCE WILL MAKE DECISIVE OR LARGE SCALE PROGRESS IN THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. IT WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST TO PRESENT SUCH A RESULT NOT AS A FAILURE BUT AS ONE OF THE STAGES IN DETENTE. THIS CHARACTER FOR THE RESULTS WOULD BE BEST REFLECTED IN THE CHOICE OF THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL FOR THE THIRD PHASE.

END TEXT. RUMSFELD

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